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greatly reduced. The leading clans are those of the Pelican, the chief tribal tutelary, and the Turtle, a minor tutelary. At present polygyny prevails, professedly and evidently because of the preponderance of females due to the decimation of warriors in battle; but both custom and tradition tell of former monogamy, with a suggestion of polyandry. The primary marriage is negotiated between the mothers of the would-be groom and the prospective bride; if the mother and daughter in the latter family look with favor on the proposal, the candidate is subjected to rigorous tests of material and moral character; and if these are successfully passed the marriage is considered complete, and the husband becomes a privileged and permanent guest in the wife's household. Family feeling, especially maternal affection, is strong; but petty dissensions are common save when internal peace is constrained by external strife. The strongest tribal characteristic is implacable animosity toward aliens, whether Indian or Caucasian; certainly for three and a half centuries, and probably for many more, the Seri have been almost constantly on the warpath against one alien group or another, and have successfully stayed Spanish, Mexican, and American invasion. In their estimation the brightest virtue is the shedding of alien blood, while the blackest crime in their calendar is alien conjugal union.

The Seri vocabulary is meager and essentially local; the kinship terms are strikingly scanty, and there are fairly full designations for food materials and other local things, while abstract terms are few. Two or three recorded vocables seem to resemble those of the Yuman languages, while the numerals and all other known terms are distinct. The grammatic construction of Seri speech appears not to differ greatly from that of other tongues of Sonora and Arizona; it is highly complex and associative. The speech is fairly euphonious, much more so than that of the neighboring Papago and Yaqui Indians.

The Seri Indians appear to recognize a wide variety of mystical potencies and a number of zoic deities, all of rather limited powers. The Pelican, Turtle, Moon, and Sun seem to lead their thearchy. Creation is ascribed to the Ancient of Pelicans—a mythical bird of marvelous wisdom and melodious song—who first raised Isla Tasape, and afterward Tiburon and the rest of the world, above the primeval waters. Individual fetishes are used, and there is some annual ceremony at the time of ripening of cactus fruits, and certain observances at the time of the new moon. The most conspicuous ceremony is the girls' puberty feast. The dead are clothed in their finest raiment, folded and fastened in small compass like Peruvian mummies, placed in shallow graves, and covered with turtle-shells, when the graves are filled with earth and heaped with stones or thorny brambles for protection against beasts of prey. Fetishes, weapons, and other personal belongings are buried with the body, as well as a dish of food and an olla of water, and there are curious customs connected with the place of

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akin in function even in the superficial view of the Caucasian, and are much more closely related in primitive thought—indeed the fire-drill is but a featherless and nockless arrow, with the foreshaft charred at its fire-giving tip; and all are closely linked in language and allied with other terms in such wise as practically to establish identity among them in the thinking of their lowly makers (though unfortunately the incomplete vocabularies extant are insufficient for full study of the linguistic homologies). Briefly the indications are that the harpoon was the primary device, and that its foreshaft was a tooth of an aquatic fish-eater like the seal, or perchance in some cases an os penis; that its lineal successor was a loose-head lance for use on sea and land, at first with the unaided hand and later with the atlatl, or throwing-stick (the lance being now extinct, though recorded by early visitors to Seriland); that the next artifact-generation in the direct line was represented by the arrow, foreshafted with hard wood or tooth, made light and graceful and loose-headed or not, according to needs, and by the substitution of bow for atlatl; and that a somewhat aberrant line was marked by the taming of fire, its reproduction by the modified arrow, and the differentiation of fire-stick from arrow and either atlatl or bow.

In tracing these stages in technologic growth, it is to be remembered that the Seri are so primitive as to betray some of the very beginnings of activital concepts; that to them zoic potencies are the paramount powers of the cosmos; that in their simple thought fire is a bestial rather than a physical phenomenon; that in their naive philosophy the production of devouring flame is of a kind with vital birth and a similitude of sexual reproduction; and that according to their notions the conquest of quarry, including fire, is made practicable only by aid of the mystical potencies of beasts and flames gained through invocatory use of symbols or actual organs.

In the Seri tongue the term "fire-drill" is *kaak*, an indefinite generic meaning "kind" or "strong kind", with an egocentric connotation ("Our-Strong-Kind"), as in the proper tribal designation *Kun-kaak* or *Ku-kaak;* while the term for the nether fire-stick or hearth is either *maam* ("woman", or more properly "mother"), or else (and more commonly) *kaak-maam*, which may be rendered "Kind-Mother"—the "Kind", as among primitive folk generally, comprising both men and tutelary beasts, and in this case fire as the most mysterious of the beasts; there is thus a suggestive analogy between the designation for the fire-producing apparatus and that for the tribe itself. It should be noted that the zoic concept of fire is widespread among the more primitive peoples of various provinces, and sometimes persists in recognizable form in higher culture (witness the fire-breathing dragons of various mythologies, the "lited Flower" notion gathered in India by Kipling, etc); also that the ascription of sex to the fire-sticks is prevalent among North American tribes, and at once helps to interpret the development of the fire-drill, fire-syringe, and other primitive devices, such, for example, as

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paints, and as small utensils generally; and they are used nearly as commonly for scraping skins, severing animal and plant tissues, digging graves and waterholes, propelling balsas, and especially for scraping reeds and sticks and okatilla stems in the manufacture of arrows, harpoons, bows, balsas, and jacal-frames—indeed, the seashell is the Seri familiar, the ever-present handmate and helper, the homologue of the Anglo-Saxon Jack with his hundred word-compounds, a half-personified reflex of habitual action and thought. Ordinarily—always, so far as is known—the shells are used in the natural state, i. e., either in the condition of capture and opening for the removal of the animal, or in the condition of finding on the beach. For certain purposes the fresh and sharp-edged shell is doubtless preferable, and for others the well-worn specimen (like the paint-cup illustrated in plate XXVII) is chosen; but everything indicates that the need for smoothed shells is met by selecting wave-worn specimens, and nothing indicates that the value of the appliance is deemed to be enhanced by wear of use—in fact, the abundance of abandoned shells about the rancherias and camp sites, and over all Seriland for that matter, indicates that the objects are discarded as easily as they are found along the prolific shores.

Next to the shells, the most abundant industrial appliances of the Seri are beach pebbles or cobbles. They are used for crushing shell and bone, for rending the skins of larger animals, for severing tendons and splintering bones, as well as for grinding or crushing seeds, uprooting canes, chopping trees and branches, driving stakes, and for the multifarious minor purposes connected with the manufacture of arrows and balsas and jacales; they are also the favorite women's weapons in warfare and the chase, and are sometimes used in similar wise by the warriors. The material for these appliances paves half the shores of Seriland, and is available in shiploads; and its use not only illustrates Seri handicraft in several significant aspects, but illumines one of the more obscure stages in the technologic development of mankind.

The cobble-stone implements of the Seri range from pebbles to bowlders, and there is a corresponding range in function from light hand-implements at one end of the series to unwieldy anvils and metates at the other end. The intermediate sizes are not infrequently utilized, and are customarily used interchangeably, the smaller of any two used in conjunction serving as the hand implement and the larger as the anvil or metate; yet there is a fairly definite clustering of the objects about two types, a larger and more stationary class, and a smaller and more portable one.

The Seri designation for the larger stone implement is that applied to rock generally, viz, *ahst* (the vowel broad, as in "father"); and it seems probable that the term is onomatopoetic, or mimetic of the sound produced in the use of the implement as a metate, and that its application to rocks generally is secondary. The designation applied to the

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smaller implement is *hupf* or *hupf* (the initial sound explosive, combining the phonetic values of *h* and *k*; the vowel nearly as in "put", or like "oo" in "took"); the term is clearly an onomatope, imitating the sound of the blow delivered on flesh, on a mass of partially crushed mesquite beans, etc—indeed, both the word and the sound of the blow seem to connote food or eating, while regular pounding with the implement (either in ordinary use or by special design) is a gathering signal. So far as ascertained, the term is not extended to other objects save potential implements in the form of suitable pebbles; but it is significant that there is no distinction in speech—nor in thought, so far as could be ascertained—between the natural pebble and the wear-shaped implement.[1] The local terms ahst and hupf are explicit and specific, and without precise equivalents in other known tongues; moreover, the objects designated are too inchoate in development and hence too protean in function to be appropriately denoted by the designations of implements pertaining to more differentiated culture (mortar, metate, pestle, muller, mano, etc). Accordingly it seems desirable to retain the Seri designations.[2]

A typical specimen of intermediate size, used commonly as an ahst, but susceptible of employment as a hupf, is illustrated (natural size) in plates XXXV and XXXVI.[3] It is a hard, tough, hornblende-granite or greenstone, with a few structure-lines brought out by weathering and wave-wearing. Its weight is 4 pounds 10 ounces (2.10 kilograms); its form and surface are entirely natural, save for slight battering shown on the two principal faces and still less conspicuous bruises along one edge (as imperfectly shown toward the left of plate XXXV). The specimen was found in a jacal (illustrated in plate VI) on Rada Ballena, within a few hours after abandonment, in the position in which it was hastily left by the last users; it was smeared with blood and fat (which still remain, as is shown in plate XXXV) and bits of flesh, and bore bloody finger prints of two sizes—those of a man and those of a woman or large child; beside it lay the hupf depicted in plate XLII. In its last use the unwieldly cobble served as an ahst, but the markings on the edge record use also as a hand implement.

A functionally similar implement is illustrated in plate XXXVII (on reduced scale; maximum length 8¼ inches = 210 cm.). It is of tough

[1] The failure to discriminate natural objects from artificialized implements produced from such objects by wear of use is a noteworthy trait of primitive folk. It is conspicuous among the acorn Indians of California, who fail to appreciate the manufacture of their own mills and who conceive that their bowlder mortars and creek pebble pestles, even when completely artificialized by a generation's use, are merely found and appropriated; and a similar state of mind persists among the well-advanced Papago, who have no conception of making their well-finished mortars and pestles, or even the stone tomahawks occasionally surviving, but regard the implements as fruits of discovery or treasure-trove only.

[2] It should be noted that the terms used in the titles of the accompanying plates are not denotive, but merely descriptive.

[3] This, like the other illustrations of the series (except plate LVI, which is a lithograph, partly process and partly handwork), are photo-mechanical reproductions made directly from the objects; all are natural size unless otherwise specified.

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174 On the other hand, if the hypothesis were true that the Seri reached their historic habitat from across the Gulf, they would have come from territory which in recent times was Cochimí, and their presumably closest relationship would be with these former neighbors, and only indirectly with the other Yumans. Thus the line of affinity would be Seri-Cochimí-main Yuman.

• 192 It is to test these two alternative hypotheses of Seri origins that
197 the accompanying comparative vocabularies of Seri, Cochimí, Yuma,
and Cocopa have been selected. They are limited because the only
material pertinent to the problem at issue is stems represented in all
[12] three linguistic groups; and both the Seri and Cochimí data are scant. A number of words of the same meaning differ completely in the three groups—in their surface appearance at any rate—and have therefore been omitted as irrelevant. The residue consists of 33 Seri words which show more or less resemblance to the corresponding Cochimí or Yuman words or to both.

The Seri, Yuma, and Cocopa vocabularies were recorded by myself. Yuma and Cocopa represent distinct branches of Yuman. Cochimí 1 and 2 were recorded or copied respectively by W. M. Gabb in 1867 and by J. R. Bartlett about 1852, and are transcribed from photostat copies of the originals filed in the Bureau of American Ethnology and furnished through the courtesy of its Chief, Mr. Matthew Stirling. Both are entered on Smithsonian printed blanks. The Bartlett vocabulary is designated "from M. Robinia at Guaymas." It may represent a vocabulary taken down by Robinia from a Cochimí and given to Bartlett, or a record made by Bartlett from Sr. Robinia's memory of Cochimí. The words for two and three are identical, even in spelling, with those given by Clavigero. Those for one and man (tepeeg and tama in Clavigero) are different. The Bartlett vocabulary may thus not go back to a single native source.

The relations of the Cochimí dialects are not clear. To judge from the three Lord's prayers given by Clavigero, languages rather than dialects may have been involved. These prayers begin respectively pennayú nakaenambà, ua-lappà anma-bang miamú, cahai apà ambeing mià, and are attributed to latitudes 25°30'-26°, 28°, and 29°-31° in the peninsula. Gabb's entry for "my father" is ka-ai and for "sky" em-bai, which clearly correspond to Clavigero's northern Cochimí cahai (h silent in Spanish, usually a glottal stop) and ambei-ng ("in heaven"). Bartlett's dialect is not so easily identified. His word for father is calembag, and his sky remains a blank entry. There are a few other identities with Clavigero, besides the numerals mentioned, but they are to words scattered in Clavigero's

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text, without reference to the locality of the dialect from which they are taken.[13]

Gabb's vocabulary therefore represents a Cochimí dialect or language north of the latitude of Tiburon; Bartlett's, a Cochimí dialect, or possibly mixture of dialects, farther south, somewhat more nearly abreast the Seri, but of undetermined provenience.[14]

Words from both these Cochimí sources are reproduced as they appear in the Bureau manuscripts, except that the accents have been put after instead of on the vowels, and that Gabb's syllabifying hyphens have been omitted where their absence seems irrelevant to his phonetic intent. Gabb states that his *ch* is as in German; his ch is presumably as in Spanish and English.

In the Seri, Yuma, and Cocopa lists, the circumflex denotes long open, the macron long close vowels; small capitals, vowels obscure in quality; superior vowels, glides or whispered vowels. Of consonants, q is velar k; X, velar fricative; x, palatal fricative; c, sh; L, surd l; italicised stops, unvoiced and unaspirated stops (intermediates); ð, interdental sonant fricative; v, *F*, bilabial v and f. The apostrophe denotes the glottal stop; its reverse, the Greek rough breathing sign, an aspiration;[15] a superior period, consonantal length.

In Yuma and Cocopa, the prime accent denotes stress accent;[16] in Seri, high tone. Seri low tone is shown by italicized vowels; middle tone, by lack of indication.

The comparative vocabularies of Seri, Cochimí, Yuman and Cocopa are given on the following page.

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[13] B, sun, yha, C, iho; B, summer, mesaho, C, mejlbó, June to August, season of pitahaya harvest, also year; B, autumn, amadá, appi, C, amadá-appi, August to October; B, winter, masibói, C, majlbói, December to February; B, spring, masibo'a, C, majlben, February to April; B, 4, magaeubugua', C, the same (but; B, 5, muguaeoqui, C, nagaaná tejueg ignimel). Bartlett's vocabulary is general, whereas Clavigero chiefly gives names of foods, plants, animals, and points of ethnographic interest.

[14] Buschmann in his Spuren der Aztekischen Sprache, 469-472, 495-511, 1859, has assembled and discussed all available Cochimí material then in print, except Clavigero's.

[15] The initial pronominal h- of Seri body-part words might perhaps more properly have been written with a rough breathing, '.

[16] There is a tendency for the stressed syllable in Yuma and Cocopa to be higher in pitch, but the tone seems an incidental accompaniment, and not organic. The same is true of Maricopa and Walapai, and I now believe, contrary to previously expressed opinion, of Mohave and Diegueño.

	Seri	Cochimí 1	Cochimí 2	Yuma	Cocopa
man	ktam	(wanyu-)amḷ[1]	delma'	l'pa"	iyupa'tc
person, people	e'm·ê	maha	demansu'	pi'ipa"	tcapa'l
hair	hetɪe't	epok	lagubu'	hê'e"	amxwaɪ
nose	hê"r	vichpyuk	huichil	hixû'	ixû'
eye	he'to=X	yupicha	yebaka'	hêêo"	iyu"
ear	he'stɪa	mang-ngi	muguil'	hacma'iyk	icmâ'l
tongue	hipɪ	hapara	abilg	hipa'ly	ampaɪ
tooth	hitâ'st	hastaa'	foea'	hêêô"	iya'wi'
beard	hita-môkne	hy-a-mi	jaeta	yävome"	ialeme'c
bone	hitɪk	hak	acheso' (Sp?)	nyetc-acâ'k	nyengiyâ'k
blood	hfâ"it	huat	jued, ined	ny-êxwi'ţ	nyêny-exwa'ţ
house	âqo	ewa	guaka'	ava"	·wa"
sky	amfm'e	embai		am·a'l	·mâ'
moon	hê'câX	konga	keglimba'k	xely'a"	xeɪ'a"
earth	emt	emat	akug	ama'ţ	amatc
rock, mountain	ast	echkai	aba'	avî'	awî'
fire	emak	maahra	usi	a'a'u	a'a"
water	aX	tasi	cal	axa"	xa'
sea	Xepê	kachpara	caapai	axâ"xi'l'ly	xa'cx'l'ɪ
tree, wood	e"ê, eqe'uXq[2]	wache, aput[2]	agimoso', allegco[2]	a'l'	l
maize	a'pX=tɪ	pechkarai		ta'i'tc	tcâs
tobacco	â'pisqo'pX	mingnga	hui	a'û'v	'ûp
dog	aXc	ethatta	masa'	axa'ţ	
bird	ee'kâtɪk	icha	kabto'	atciye'r	
good	Xê'pê	tai'p	aha'mi	axo'tk	paxwa'l
large	kâ'kwx	chai	ca'okoo	vata'ik	âze'i
small	kesitɪ	achtawan	canil	ano'qek	alytca'c
yellow	ma'sotɪ	rimarai	yembil	aqwe'sk	qwac
one	taco=	chaqui	dopi'	ace'nt	·cit
two	kôk·u	kooak	goguo	xavi'k	xawa'k
three	ka'pX=u	kabiak	combio'	xamu'k	xamo'k
eat	hîk-o"êt	hu-a'	guaba'	hamâ'-m	'oma"
drink	axe-ee'si	desi	calisi'	xa'-si'-m	'osi"

[1] Wanyu is young.
[2] Firewood. The first words mean tree or stick.

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The Seri similarities evident in the vocabulary may be summarized as follows:

Definitely more similar to Cochimí: man, person, large : 3.
Somewhat more similar to Cochimí: tooth, house, two, three : 4.
Equally similar to Cochimí and Yuman: nose, bone, blood, sky, earth, fire, drink : 7.
Somewhat more similar to Yuman: hair, tongue, water : 3.
Definitely more similar to Yuman: eye, wood, dog : 3.
Perhaps more similar to Cochimí: sea, maize, bird, small, yellow : 5.
Perhaps equally similar: rock, good, one, eat : 4.
Perhaps more similar to Yuman: ear, beard, moon, tobacco : 4.

The result is, in brief, that the available data indicate the Seri language as about equally related to, and differentiated from, normal Yuman and Cochimí. There is proof neither for the hypothesis that Seri and Cochimí branched off in different directions from the main body of Yuman tribes, nor for the one which would branch the Seri off from the Cochimí after these had drifted into the peninsula and acquired a certain specialization there. The relation of the three language groups might be described as an equilateral one—or more exactly as isosceles, with Cochimí and Yuman somewhat the nearest to each other, but Seri equidistant from both.

Various hypothetical considerations might be adduced to explain this condition. Seri might be construed as an ancient offshoot from Yuman or proto-Yuman, which later came into contact with the Cochimí off-shoot and was influenced by it. Or, Seri might be conceived of as a Yuman branch that had drifted earliest into the peninsula and then was superseded there by Cochimí as a later offshoot from Yuman. But all such suppositions are equally lacking in positive evidence in their favor, and discussion of them tends to become fine-spun among conjectures. It is wisest to accept the salient fact, namely that available linguistic evidence affords no decisive proof either for or against the hypothesis that the Seri originated in peninsular California, and to leave the problem there in the hope that fuller knowledge of the languages will ultimately solve it.

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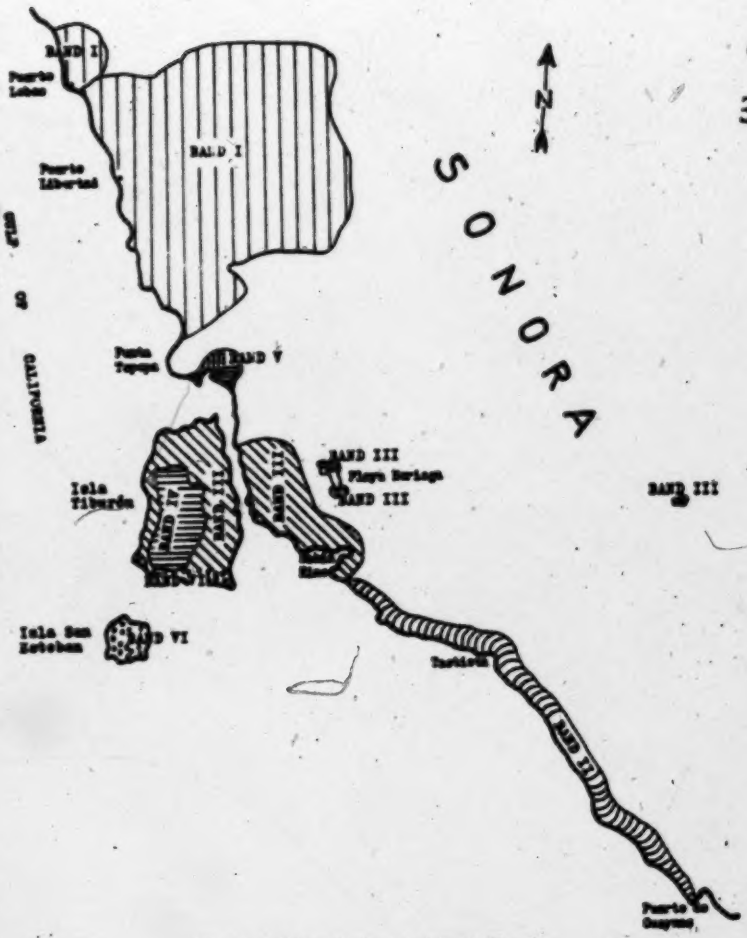

FIG. 2. Distribution of Seri Bands

DIALECTS

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The existence in former times of three distinct but mutually intelligible dialects seems evident.

Dialect 1 was spoken by Bands I, II, III, and IV. Any diversity of speech among these four bands seems to have been confined to word formation. The Seri language of today is derived largely from this dialect. [192]

Dialect 2 was spoken by Band V. This dialect is extinct and only scanty data on it can be gathered. From a number of expressions gathered, it appears that the dialect was characterized by extreme intonational contours. [194]